

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-10 EURE-00 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-03 SCA-01

SS-15 NSC-10 OIC-04 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-04

SAJ-01 CU-04 IO-15 EB-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01 STR-08 H-03

DRC-01 /191 W

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P R 021454Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2592

INFO USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

SECDEF WASHDC

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION BERLIN

USINT ALGIERS

USINT CAIRO

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY NICISIA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12056

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR
SUBJ: CSCE: POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET GIVE ON
REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES

REF: MOSCOW 11479

1. SUMMARY. IN VIEW OF CURRENT INTERNAL SITUATION IN SOVIET UNION, EMBASSY BELIEVES THERE MAY BE POSSIBILITY AT CSCE OF MOVING SOVIETS IN MORE POSITIVE DIRECTION ON BASKET THREE QUESTION OF REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES. THERE ARE SOME RECENT INDICATIONS HERE THAT SOVIETS DESIRE TO SHOW MORE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO INFORMATION AND EMIGRATION. FAMILY REUNIFICATION IS ISSUE LEAST LIKELY TO WEAKEN SOVIET INTERNAL CONTROLS, AND LOGICALLY THEREFORE SHOULD BE LESS UNPALATABLE TO SECURITY AUTHORITIES THAN OTHER BASKET THREE ITEMS. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT SPECIAL EMPHASIS BE GIVEN TO EXPLORING POSSIBILITIES OF PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE AS PHASE TWO DEVELOPS. END SUMMARY.

2. REFTEL GIVES OUR READING OF CURRENT INTERNAL SITUATION IN USSR. THIS MESSAGE SETS OUT OUR VIEWS ON HOW U.S. CAN TAKE ACCOUNT OF THESE FACTORS IN THE CSCE CONTEXT.

3. THE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH U.S. CAN MANEUVER AT GENEVA HAVE NOT CHANGED. AT ONE END OF THE SPECTRUM, A BREAKDOWN OF THE CONFERENCE OVER INCOMPATIBLE SOVIET
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AND WESTERN POSITIONS ON BASKET THREE WOULD CALL INTO QUESTION U.S.-SOVIET UNDERSTANDINGS ON THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CURRENT ISSUES, AS WELL AS DEALING A BLOW TO BREZHNEV'S DETENTE POLICY. AT THE OTHER END, WESTERN SETTling FOR ANYTHING LESS THAN ACCEPTABLE RESULTS ON BASKET THREE COULD CAUSE SIGNIFICANT REACTION IN WEST, PARTICULARLY IN U.S.
-- WITH CORRESPONDING CONSEQUENCES FOR CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

4. FORTUNATELY, NEITHER EXTREME SEEMS TO BE IN THE CARDS. BREZHNEV'S CONTINUED NEED TO BE ABLE TO CLAIM A FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS FROM THE CONFERENCE SEEMS TO

BE CONTRIBUTING TO SOME SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON BASKET THREE. WHILE BREZHNEV HAS WARNED THE WEST NOT TO CONDITION BASKET THREE ON BASKET ONE, HE HAS MADE THE REVERSE LINKAGE HIMSELF -- THEREBY IMPLYING THAT TRADEOFFS ARE POSSIBLE. KOVALEV'S REMARKS TO VEST (GENEVA 5044) SEPTEMBER 21 -- INCLUDING HIS PLAYBACK OF VREZHNEV'S ALMA ATA SPEECH -- ARE ALSO ENCOURAGING.

5. SOVIET FLEXIBILITY IS ALSO LIMITED HOWEVER. ONLY AS NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED AT GENEVA CAN IT BE DETERMINED HOW FAR THE SOVIET REGIME CAN BE PUSHED ON QUESTIONS WHICH ARE PERCEIVED AS AFFECTING INTERNAL SECURITY. AS INDICATED REFTEL, THERE MAY ALREADY BE SOME MUFFLED INTERNAL DEBATES UNDERWAY ON THIS SUBJECT.

6. RECENT SOVIET ACTIONS DO INDICATE THAT MOSCOW WISHES TO DEMONSTRATE A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO INFORMATION AND EMIGRATION ISSUES. THE DECISION TO STOP JAMMING VOA, BBC, AND DEUTSCHE WELLE IS OF COURSE THE MOST IMPORTANT INDICATION. OTHER SIGNS ARE ACCUMULATING ON A LOWER LEVEL. THE RECENT SOVIET RATIFICATION OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANT CONTAINING COMMITMENTS TO FREE EMIGRATION AND FREE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION MAY -- FOR ALL ITS PUBLIC RELATIONS CONTENT AND TACTICAL USEFULNESS AT CSCE -- ALSO BE INTENDED TO PROVIDE "LEGAL" BASIS TO JUSTIFY INTERNALLY ANY MODEST RELAXATION IN EMIGRATION. IN ANY CASE, PROPAGANDA ON SUBJECT SEEMS IN PART AIMED AT CONFIDENTIAL

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A DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCY WHICH HAS BEEN DOGMATICALLY OPPOSED TO FREER EMIGRATION. SEVERAL DAYS AGO THE SOVIETS PRODUCED ON SHORT NOTICE FOR SENATOR HARTKE'S STAFFERS AND EMBASSY CONSULAR OFFICERS THE HEAD OF THE USSR DEPARTMENT OF VISAS AND REGISTRATION (THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS ORGAN WHICH RULES ON ALL QUESTIONS OF EXIT PERMISSION FOR SOVIET CITIZENS) TO DISCUSS EMIGRATION ISSUES (MOSCOW 11749). AND USA INSTITUTE DIRECTOR ARBATOV HAS RECENTLY MENTIONED TO US AND OTHERS HIS HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SELL COPIES (HE SAID ABOUT A THOUSAND) OF THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE IN SOVIET HOTELS. (OF COURSE BENEFICIARIES OF LAST GESTURE, IF IT MATERIALIZES, WOULD BE LIMITED LARGELY TO WESTERN TOURISTS.)

7. THESE LARGE AND SMALL SIGNS INDICATE A GROWING SOVIET SENSITIVITY TO WESTERN CONCERNS AND RAISE POSSIBILITIES THAT SOVIETS COULD BE PRODDED TO OTHER ACTIONS IN THE CONTACTS FIELD.

8. ONE AREA WHICH WE BELIEVE MERITS SPECIAL ATTENTION IN GENEVA IS THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES. DESPITE

SOVIET STONEWALLING ON THIS ISSUE AT HELSINKI, THERE
MAY BE A POSSIBILITY OF SOME FLEXIBILITY DURING PHASE
II. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SOVIET INTERNAL CONSIDERATIONS
IT CAN BE LOGICALLY ARGUED (PROVATEL) THAT GREATER
SOVIET RESPONSIVENESS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION IS UNLIKELY
TO WEAKEN SOVIET INTERNAL CONTROLS. IN FACT, INSTEAD OF
BRINGING MORE FOREIGNERS TO THE USSR -- THE MOST EXPLICIT
FOCUS OF RECENT KGB SCARE STORIES IN THE PRESS --- CON-
TROLLED EMIGRATION OF THIS TYPE SERVES TO "RID" USSR OF
RESIDENTS WHO HAVE CLOSE TIES ABROAD. ADMITTEDLY, SOVIET
INTERNAL SECURITY AUTHORITIES MAY LOOK AT THE QUESTION
FROM VIEWPOINT OF THEIR PREROGATIVES RATHER THAN LOGIC.
NEVERTHELESS, REGIME HAS SHOWN ITSELF CAPABLE OF PROMPT
ACTION IN EMIGRATION AREA WHEN IT SUITS ITS PURPOSES.
JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL AND SURGES IN EMIGRATION TO
FRG AT KEY POLITICAL JUNCTURES ARE CASES IN POINT.

9. FROM THE U.S. POINT OF VIEW, EMPHASIS ON FAMILY
REUNIFICATION HAS MUCH TO COMMEND IT. IT HAS BEEN A FORMAL
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ISSUE IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS SINCE 1959, WHEN THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 12056

FIRST U.S. REPRESENTATION LIST OF USSR RESIDENTS TRYING TO EMIGRATE TO FAMILY MEMBERS IN THE U.S. WAS PRESENTED IN CONNECTION WITH VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO THE USSR. THE MOST RECENT LIST, CONTAINING 660 PERSONS, WAS PRESENTED BY CHARGE TO FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KUZNETSOV MAY 16 (MOSCOW 556) AND BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL TO AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN JUNE 8 THIS YEAR. TO DATE ONLY ABOUT 100 (OR 15 PERCENT) HAVE RECEIVED PERMISSION TO LEAVE, DESPITE OBVIOUS ADVANTAGE TO SOVIETS OF TAKING POSITIVE ACTION WITH AN EYE TO MFN VOTE. (FULLER BACKGROUND ON U.S. EFFORTS IN PROVIDED IN MOSCOW 11749, 10882, 10578, AND 9585.) PERSONAL TRAGEDIES INVOLVED IN MANY OF USG REPRESENTATION LIST CASES ARE SEVERE, AND WE HAVE NOTED A SHARP INCREASE IN CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESS INTEREST IN THE ISSUE. IN ADDITION, SINCE SEVERAL OF OUR WESTERN ALLIES (E.G., FRG, CANADA) ARE FACED WITH SIMILAR PROBLEMS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION, THERE SHOULD BE LITTLE DIFFICULTY FINDING WESTERN AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE IN GENEVA.

10. TACTICS ARE OF COURSE MATTER FOR OUR DELEGATION IN GENEVA. IN EMBASSY EXPERIENCE, BOTH OFFICIALLY

AND PRIVATELY SOVIETS REACT MORE FAVORABLY TO "FAMILY REUNIFICATION" IF IT IS TREATED SEPARATELY FROM ISSUE OF "FREE EMIGRATION," WHICH IS A RED FLAG TO THEM INDEED, GROMYKO HAD SOME HEATED WORDS ON LATTER SUBJECT IN UNGA SPEECH SEPTEMBER 26 (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE IN WEST WHO ARROGATE TO THEMSELVES RIGHT TO DECIDE QUESTIONS OF EMIGRATION FROM OTHER COUNTRIES). WE WOULD ALSO NEED TO USE CONTINUING CARE IN NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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APPEARING TO BE DRAGGING IN ISSUE OF EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL.

11. IN GIVING SPECIAL EMPHASIS TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION, EMBASSY DOES NOT SLIGHT IMPORTANCE OF OTHER BASKET THREE CONCERNS. ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION, HOWEVER, WE WISH TO SUGGEST THAT THERE MAY BE SOME FURTHER ROOM FOR GIVE IN THE SOVIET POSITION. WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT THE POSSIBILITIES BE CAREFULLY EXPLORED AS PHASE TWO DEVELOPS. DUBS

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SECDEF
NATO
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ATHENS
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THE HAGUE
HELSINKI
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MADRID
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TEL AVIV
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